

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00517 01 OF 02 161352Z

51

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 AEC-05 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-05 IO-10 L-02

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05

BIB-01 ISO-00 /086 W

----- 075823

R 161312Z DEC 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 795

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0517
MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: REPORT OF AD HOC GROUP MEETING OF
DECEMBER 12, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AT ITS FINAL MEETING OF THE FOURTH
ROUND, ON DECEMBER 12, 1974, THE AD HOC GROUP (AHG)
APPROVED ITS END-OF-ROUND REPORT TO NAC, WHICH INCLUDED
REQUESTS FOR COUNCIL GUIDANCE FOR THE FIFTH ROUND.
(TEXT IN MBFR VIENNA 513). THE AHG REPORT WAS APPROVED
AFTER LONG DEBATE AND NUMEROUS ALLIED AMENDMENTS,
PRIMARILY DESIGNED TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF REQUESTS FOR
GUIDANCE. IN COMMENTING ON THIS ROUND'S FINAL PLENARY
MEETING (MBFR VIENNA 508), US REP OBSERVED THAT SOVIET
REP'S IMPROMTU REMARKS HAD CONFIRMED HIS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00517 01 OF 02 161352Z

APPREHENSIONS REGARDING THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL,

WHICH AIMED AT SECURING AT NO REAL COST TO THE EAST A CODIFICATION OF THE STATUS QUO AND A HOLD OVER WESTERN EUROPEAN FORCES, BEFORE COMMUNIST PARTY MEETINGS PLANNED FOR NEXT YEAR. THE AHG ALSO HEARD REPORTS ON BILATERALS WITH THE EAST (MBFR VIENNA 514), AS WELL AS ON DEC 12 WRAP-UP PRESS CONFERENCES BY EAST AND WEST (MBFR VIENNA 502, 509, 511 AND 512). FINALLY, AHG APPROVED CHAIRMAN'S REPORT FOR FINAL WEEK OF THIS ROUND (TEXT BY AIRGRAM). THE NEXT AHG MEETING WAS SET FOR JANUARY 24, 1975. END SUMMARY.

DISCUSSION OF END OF ROUND REPORT TO NAC

2. THE BULK OF THE FINAL AHG MEETING OF THIS ROUND WAS DEVOTED TO A PROLONGED DISCUSSION OF THE DECEMBER 12 END-OF-ROUND REPORT TO NAC (TEXT IN MBFR VIENNA 513). BESIDES UPDATING THE NOV 28 AHG REPORT TO NAC (MBFR VIENNA 454), THE END-OF-ROUND REPORT CONTAINED REQUESTS FOR GUIDANCE FOR POSSIBLE USE IN THE FIFTH ROUND.

3. SEVERAL ALLIED REPS ARGUED AGAINST OVERLOADING THE COUNCIL WITH MORE ISSUES THAN COULD BE HANDLED IN THE TIME AT HAND. THE RESULT WAS THAT A NUMBER OF REQUESTS FOR GUIDANCE WERE DELETED FROM THE REPORT DRAFTED BY UK DEL. ONE OF THESE WAS A REQUEST FOR GUIDANCE REGARDING A POSSIBLE POST-AGREEMENT BODY FOR HEARING COMPLAINTS OF VIOLATION OR CIRCUMVENTION OF THE COMMON CEILING AND POSSIBLY ALSO FOR PROVISION OF REGULAR REPORT OF FORCE LEVELS ON EITHER SIDE. ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) AND FRG REP (BEHREND) ALSO SUCCEEDED IN RE-CASTING IN A MORE POSITIVE TONE PARAGRAPH 13, ON THE COMMON CEILING, AND IN DELETING FROM THAT PARAGRAPH, REFERENCES TO HOW TO DEAL WITH EASTERN DEMANDS FOR NATIONAL CEILINGS. BELGIAN ACTING REP (WILLOT) FAVORED ADDING A REQUEST FOR GUIDANCE REGARDING THE APPLICATION OF STABILIZING MEASURES TO NON-US DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, BUT DROPPED HIS SUGGESTION IN THE FACE OF FRG OPPOSITION AND LACK OF SUPPORT FROM OTHER AHG REPS.

4. FORM OF PHASE I AGREEMENT (PARA. 10). WILLOT ARGUED
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00517 01 OF 02 161352Z

THAT SUB-PARA (I) OF PARA 10 COULD BE DELETED, AS NATO HAD ALREADY DECIDED THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL HAVE TO SIGN A PHASE I AGREEMENT. FRG REP DISAGREED, SAYING THERE HAD BEEN PRACTICALLY NO DISCUSSION OF THIS QUESTION IN BRUSSELS, SO SUB-PARA (I) SHOULD BE RETAINED. BEHREND SAID IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT A PHASE I REDUCTION AGREEMENT WOULD BE A BILATERAL ONE BETWEEN THE US AND SOVIET UNION, AS THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT BE

PREPARED TO ENGAGE THEMSELVES IN A REDUCTIONS COMMITMENT TO THE FRG, WHEN THE FRG WAS NOT REDUCING IN PHASE I. THE ISSUE WAS WHETHER THERE WOULD BE A MULTILATERAL ANNEX OR SOME OTHER ADDITIONAL MULTILATERAL DOCUMENT. BEHRENDT SAID THIS QUESTION REMAINED COMPLETELY OPEN AND REQUIRED FURTHER DISCUSSION IN BRUSSELS. THE AHG DECIDED TO RETAIN SUB-PARA (I).

5. FIXED PERIOD OF TIME. UK REP (ROSE) SAID THE AHG SHOULD SEEK GUIDANCE, BY FEB 7, 1975, ON THE PRECISE DURATION OF THE "FIXED PERIOD OF TIME" AND REGARDING WHEN IT SHOULD BEGIN. US REP AGREED, POINTING OUT THAT THE ALLIES HAD BEEN UNABLE ON THE BASIS OF EXISTING GUIDANCE TO CONVINCE THE EAST THAT THEY INTENDED TO START PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS PROMPTLY. HENCE, THE COUNCIL SHOULD BE APPRISED THAT THIS IS A NEGOTIATING PROBLEM.

6. THE UK DRAFT FAVORED STARTING THE FIXED PERIOD" FROM THE DATE OF ENTRY INTO FORCE OF A PHASE I AGREEMENT. ITALIAN REP THOUGHT THE PERIOD SHOULD COMMENCE WITH RATIFICATION, WHILE FRG DEPREP (HOFMANN) OBJECTED THAT THIS WOULD MERELY SUBSTITUTE ONE VAGUENESS FOR ANOTHER, SINCE NO ONE COULD PREDICT WHEN THE RATIFICATION PROCESSES WOULD BE COMPLETED. CANADIAN ACTING REP (MORGAN) SAID NAC HAD ALREADY SAID THAT THE PERIOD WOULD COMMENCE FROM THE DATE OF SIGNATURE. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION, THE PARAGRAPH OF THE DRAFT REPORT ON THE FIXED PERIOD OF TIME WAS DELETED DUE TO LACK OF CONSENSUS ON WHAT THE AHG SHOULD RECOMMEND. IT WAS AGREED THAT, HOWEVER, AN AHG WORKING GROUP SHOULD EXAMINE THE ISSUE MORE CLOSELY AFTER THE CHRISTMAS RECESS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 MBFR V 00517 01 OF 02 161352Z

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00517 02 OF 02 161359Z

51

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 AEC-05 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-05 IO-10 L-02

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05

BIB-01 ISO-00 /086 W

----- 075900

R 161312Z DEC 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 796

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

RUFHOL /AMEMBASSY BONN 653

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0517

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

7. OTHER LINKAGE ISSUES. AT THE SUGGESTION OF FRG AND ITALIAN REPS, TWO ADDITIONAL REQUESTS FOR NAC GUIDANCE ON LINKAGE ISSUES ALSO WERE DELETED FROM THE REPORT. THE FIRST DELETED PARAGRAPH NOTED THE USG DECISION TO PARTICIPATE IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS AND TO SEEK SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II, AND THEN ASKED WHAT COULD NOW BE SAID IN RESPONSE TO EASTERN QUESTIONS REGARDING US AND SOVIET PHASE II REDUCTIONS. THE SECOND DELETED PARAGRAPH ASKED WHETHER, IF THERE IS A LIMITATION ON US AND SOVIET ARMAMENTS, PROVISION COULD BE MADE, POSSIBLY BY WAY OF EXTENSION OF THE GROUND FORCE MANPOWER NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT, FOR NON-CIRCUMVENTION IN RELATION TO THE FORCES OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00517 02 OF 02 161359Z

8. EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL. IN COMMENTING ON IMPORMPTU REMARKS IN SOVIET REP KHLESTOV'S DEC 12 PLENARY STATEMENT (TEXT MBFR VIENNA 516), US REP OBSERVED THAT KHLESTOV HAD EVIDENTLY BEEN STUNG BY THE REFERENCE IN THE ALLIED STATEMENT TO THE EMERGING "BASIC ISSUE" OF WHETHER THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS WOULD CONTINUE TO DEAL WITH THE SUBJECT OF SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS OR WOULD SHIFT ITS FOCUS TO

DEAL ONLY WITH "LIMITED INTERIM MEASURES." US REP SAID KHLESTOV'S IMPROMPTU REACTION SEEMED TO INDICATE THAT THE SOVIETS WERE CONSIDERING HOW TO DEAL WITH MBFR BEFORE THE COMMUNIST PARTY MEETINGS NEXT YEAR. US REP SAID KHLESTOV'S IMPROMPTU REMARKS HAD INCREASED HIS CONCERN REGARDING THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL, WHICH PROVIDED A VEHICLE FOR FREEZING THE MILITARY STATUS QUO AND FOR LIMITING WEST EUROPEAN FORCES, AT NO SIGNIFICANT COST TO THE SOVIETS. IN THIS SITUATION, WESTERN READINESS TO NEGOTIATE OVER A FREEZE COULD TAKE PRESSURE OFF THE SOVIETS TO NEGOTIATE A MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT.

9. WHILE THE ALLIES WERE SEEKING TO PARRY THE EASTERN PROPOSAL BY OBJECTING TO NATIONAL CEILINGS AND LACK OF DATA, US REP WAS CONCERNED THAT THE EAST EVENTUALLY MIGHT AGREE, STRICTLY FOR PURPOSES OF A FREEZE, TO DROP THEIR DEMAND FOR NATIONAL CEILINGS. ALSO, STRICTLY IN THE CONTEXT OF A FREEZE, THE EAST MIGHT AGREE TO UNDERTAKE NOT TO EXCEED THE ALLIED FIGURE FOR WARSAW PACT FORCES IN THE AREA, WHILE NOT STIPULATING THAT THAT WESTERN FIGURE WAS CORRECT. THE EAST COULD PROTECT ITS POSITION FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS ON BOTH ISSUES VIA DISCLAIMERS, BUT THE EFFECT OF THESE TWO "CONCESSIONS" WOULD BE TO ENHANCE THE ATTRACTIVENESS TO WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION OF THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL.

10. FOR THESE REASONS, US REP CONCLUDED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD AVOID A COUNTER-PROPOSAL TO THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL. INSTEAD, FOLLOWING FUTHER NATO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00517 02 OF 02 161359Z

CONSIDERATION OF THE FREEZE ISSUE DURING THE RECESS, THE WEST SHOULD, EARLY IN THE FIFTH ROUND, TELL THE EAST THAT THEY WOULD NOT OPPOSE A FREEZE IF IT WERE PART OF AN ACCEPTABLE REDUCTION PROGRAM AND THAT THE ALLIES HAD ALREADY PROPOSED SUCH AN APPROACH. NETHERLANDS REP (DE VOS) SAID HE FULLY ENDORSED US REP'S ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION.

11. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION, THE AHG APPROVED PARAGRAPH 3 OF THE REPORT TO NAC, WHICH RECOMMENDS "THAT THE COUNCIL SHOULD COMPLETE ITS STUDY OF (THE EASTERN FREEZE) PROPOSAL DURING THE RECESS, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE EFFECTS ON THE ALLIED NEGOTIATING POSITION OF ANY FORM OF PRE-REDUCTION MANPOWER FREEZE, SO AS TO ENABLE THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS TO GIVE A DEFINITIVE RESPONSE TO THE EAST EARLY IN THE NEXT

ROUND."RESOR

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 DEC 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974MBFRV00517
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740364-0763
From: MBFR VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741232/aaaabbli.tel
Line Count: 278
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <28 MAR 2002 by shawdg>; APPROVED <28 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: REPORT OF AD HOC GROUP MEETING OF DECEMBER 12, 1974
TAGS: PARM, NATO, NAC
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005